6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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In this period, a small group of *Pampa* still spoke their native language, but later this speech disappeared under the *Araucanian* avalanche that descended from the Cordillera. By the end of the same century, the *Araucanians*, who had at first infiltrated among the *Puelche* living in the mountains, controlled all the extensive area between the vicinity of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, San Luis, and the Río Negro, between the Cordillera and the sea.

In their immense territories, the newly arrived *Araucanians* were split into various distinct and frequently rival groups. They never formed states, for their social organization was not stratified, and they lacked permanent homes. But real dynasties of chieftains who succeeded each other were developed, and some of them became permanently established in definite places.

It is clear that these more or less rival groups, consisting of semi-nomadic Indians, had no definitely bounded territories that separated one from the other. Moreover, the number of chieftainships was changeable. Each chief with his people was subject to a higher chief. If dissatisfied with his superior, he took his movable tents and became the subject of another, or he himself became an independent chief.

Three of these chieftainships, however, were permanent, doubtless because they were based on the distinct physiography of the land. The first was that of the *Puelche*, who, in the latter part of the 18th century, were pressing toward the northeast, and at the beginning of the 19th century inhabited not only the Cordillera proper but all the territories east of the Andes to the Chadileuvú or Salado River, between the Diamante River on the north and the Limay River on the south.

The second group, located east of the first, occupied the western side of the Pampa, commonly called "región del monte" because of its xerophytic vegetation. The *Araucanians* called it Mamüll-Mapú, the "woody region." Its inhabitants were known as *Ranquel* (in the *Araucanian* language, rankul means a field of common reed grass). Its more permanent center, where the general chief lived, was a place called Leubucó, long. 64° 42′ W. and lat. 35° 30′ S.

Finally, the third group inhabited the region commonly called the humid Pampa (Pampa húmeda) or herbaceous Pampa, which is the eastern part of the plains. Because of their habitat, these Indians were often called *Pampistas* or just *Pampas*, but they should not be confused with the true *Pampas*, who occupied this region previous to the *Araucanians*. The principal headquarters of these natives was the Salinas Grandes zone near Macachín, which lies in the present territory of La Pampa.

As the fundamental factors in the fusion and adaptation of elements were almost the same throughout the area inhabited by the Argentine

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date)1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Araucanians, the results should everywhere be identical or similar. Considering the *Araucanian's* manner of living, the century and a half of their occupation of the territory east of the Andes was not sufficient time for them to become differentiated. The different groups of eastern *Araucanians* remained very similar to one another in their physical appearance as well as in their culture and language.

We lack exact anthropometric data on the Argentine *Araucanian* stature, but according to different historical sources they were of a "medium" stature, that is, an average height of 5.4 to 5.6 feet (1.65 to 1.70 m.). This is understandable because they were the result of the mixture of the short *Araucanians* of Chile with the taller *Puelenches* and the other Pampa tribes.

According to craniological measurements published by Ten Kate (1893), the majority (80.6 percent) of the *Araucanians* from the plains are brachycephalic like those of Chile, and 19.4 percent are dolichocephalic like the old *Pampa*. This is as would be expected.

Their culture was also of mixed origin. Features of *Pampa* origin included their lack of cultivation of the soil; use of the classic skin toldo; the bolas (boleadora) as the principal weapon, together with the spear; their diet of half-raw mare meat and hot blood, and their mythology and the name of their spirit of evil, Gualichu. From Chile came men's and women's garments, ornaments, weaving, silverwork, wooden plates, spears up to 16 feet (5 m.) long, part of their social organization, and some funeral practices.

Finally, their language differed from that of Chile in certain peculiarities, such as their tendency to change the *r* into *s* and the *t* into *ch*.

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7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

negotiations.[33] There also developed a type of Indian mercenary who supplied his own weapons and served for a specified length of time at a prearranged scale of pay.[34]

It seems quite clear that there was no pan-Araucanian sentiment to which the establishment could appeal. When local chiefs were asked for troops they not uncommonly rejected the request. If they acceded to the demand, they chose the bravest man for a leader and dispatched the force under his command. Service was performed in the establishment's forces for no more consideration than lodging and hospitable treatment. In the event of mortality the close relatives of the fallen warrior were compensated by the residents of the province in whose defense he died.[35]

Some of the localities simply did not want to fight the Spaniards, preferring to make the best of conditions under Spanish rule. The Indians around Angol, for instance, joined the Spaniards in war against the establishment for a number of years. While the establishment leaders accused them of subverting the general Indian cause, the Angol tribes retaliated with accusations of plunder and theft.[36] The establishment, with its own crops destroyed by warfare, never hesitated to raid the stores of those who were not immediately allied to the cause. Araucanians who refused to fight were subjected to violent reprisal.[37] Even in the province of Arauco all was not unanimity. An old chief was forced to flee with his family and take refuge in the Spanish fort in Arauco because he would not support the war, thereby giving evidence of pro-Spanish sympathies.[38] It is difficult to guess how many others there might have been.

By 1594, according to Olaverría, the establishment claimed supremacy over all of the aborigines from the Biobío to the Imperial River, and was held in dread by all of the Indians as far south as Osorno. The establishment was so feared and respected, he said, that Indians on the extreme coastal mountains [illegible] when the cabiles of the establishment so desired.[39] Nevertheless, the chiefs never succeeded in gaining effective supremacy, even for purposes of war. Authority continued to be local,

33 *Idem*, pp. 109, 111.

34 Juan de Herrera, "Relación de las cosas de Chile" (CHC, vol. 2, p. 251).

35 Olaverría, p. 25.

36 Menendez, pp. 126-127.

37 *Idem*, p. 63. The Indians around the settlements who were friendly towards the Spanish were easily found by the depredations of the establishment's warriors. Crops were burned or stolen, and women and children were carried off to be used as drudges. See Alonso García Ramón to the King, 1603 (Gay, II, pp. 378, 379); "Informe de Juan de Xarquemendi" (*Idem*, pp. 393-395); Méndez, p. 603. Through acts of terror the establishment forced friendly Indians to rebel against the Spanish. Through maladministration the Spanish governors achieved the same end. Plundering of Indian crops and raping of their women brought alienation and revolt. See Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, *Cautiverio feliz* (CHC, vol. 1, pp. 91-93).

38 Menendez, pp. 110-113.

39 Olaverría, p. 28.

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present-day Araucanians had the Omaha system of reckoning kin. He suggested there was "some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced," although results in this direction had been "somewhat discouraging" (Hallowell 1943:489–90).

In 1948 Titiev did a field study of a few Mapuche groups living on reservations near the small town of Cholchol, in Cautín Province (1951). He remarked that Latcham's work in the same area some fifty years before would serve as a base line for his own study in the dynamics of culture change. Titiev carefully delimited his area and indicated that the results of his field work applied only to the Indians in the region around Cholchol (1951:2). Few other geographico-cultural qualifications of this sort may be found in the literature dealing with the Araucanians, except for rather vague recognition of the grosser divisions mentioned above: Picunche, Mapuche, Huilliche. It seems, however, that Titiev exceeded his self-imposed limits when he offered an evolutionary hypothesis stated in terms general enough to include all of Mapuche society (1951:49ff.). At any rate, the impression lingers that there has been a good deal of regional uniformity, at given periods in history, in Araucanian kinship structure as well as in the broader aspects of social organization, and that this is true today.

The vagueness and insufficiency of the data in the chronicles frequently render it impossible to be definitive concerning historical social forms. There is so little direct information about the kinship terminology and behavior of the Picunche and Huilliche that all searching analyses of Araucanian kinship must, perforce, deal with the Mapuche. Latcham, who certainly did most to show regional divisions among the Araucanians, conveniently ignored regional bounds in documenting his thesis of matrilineal organization. Furthermore, local variation within the Mapuche area has been largely glossed over, in part from lack of field work among the Mapuche, although evidence of such variation is not entirely wanting in the historical material.

TWO BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The following two assumptions regarding the evolution of Araucanian society, which appear both in the historic literature and recent field reports on the Mapuche (cf. Cooper 1946:724; Titiev 1951:51 et passim), are here questioned:

(1) That Araucanian society was matrilineally organized at the time of the Spanish invasion of Chile, and that aspects of matrilineality survived into the eighteenth century.

(2) That there has been considerable change in Araucanian kinship since the early 1600's, and that the latter-day patrilineal organization is reflected in the Omaha system (as reported by Hallowell and Titiev).

Latcham's thesis is perhaps the best documented theory of the development of Araucanian social organization. It is subscribed to in part by Titiev (1951:51), but is not in accord with the theories of other serious students of Araucanian culture, notably Luis de Valdivia (1606), Febrés (1765), Have-

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Actually, an examination of the historical kinship terminologies reveals a good deal of consistency in the kinds of changes which have occurred, insofar as they indicate a trend toward stronger patrilineality. It is possible, furthermore, to show that some of the changes have been effected by the successful competition of one of two or more terms present in the earliest lists. Some of these "survivors," as well as other terms, appear today as apocopations of circumlocutory expressions used earlier (and occasionally used today). The fact that they are used today when greater precision is desired indicates that they may have been used in the past (and so recorded) in order to convey "exact" information to the early students of Araucanian language and culture. Their "disappearance," therefore, does not necessarily reflect change.

There is no doubt that the Omaha pattern of kinship nomenclature exists in a full-blown form around Cholchol, where Hallowell's informant came from and where Titiev (1951:49ff.) worked. However, the areal distribution of this pattern seems to be confined to the northwest sector of Araucanía (see below p. 447), where Omaha terminology appears as a rather late development (not recorded in kinship lists collected as late as the first decades of the twentieth century).

One finds significant differences between the terminologies of Titiev and Hallowell on the one hand, and Latcham and his contemporaries on the other. However, in 1953 the writer collected kinship data which are in some ways intermediate. These findings raise questions in regard to both the historical development of Araucanian social organization and the representativeness of the Omaha system among the Mapuche of the recent past and present day.

THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL

The lists appearing in this section are diagrammed on the basis of historical terminologies taken from lexicons and other works about the Mapuche. Diagram 1 is composed of terms collected by Valdivia (1606), and may be taken as representative of the terminology in use during at least the latter part of the sixteenth century; Diagram 2 is a composite of terms recorded by Febrés (1765) and Havestadt (1777) in the eighteenth century; Diagram 3 is made up of three lists (see p. 442) compiled in the early part of the twentieth century.

Taken together, all three diagrams, along with the relevant descriptive data, serve to show that:

(1) Certain features associated with patrilineal organization and important in the development of the Omaha pattern (e.g. polygyny; disregard of generation seen in cross-generational marriage and in the inheritance of the avunculate role) have roots in the beginnings of recorded Araucanian history.

(2) A trend toward a fully developed Omaha system seems to have been arrested in most of Araucanía—perhaps because of some of the very pressures often cited to explain emergence of stronger patrilineal organization (e.g., warfare and enhancement of the male role in regard to warfare; group solidarity in time of hostilities).

Although many terms are missing in the earliest kinship lists, parallel- and cross-cousins are recorded, the consanguineal relatives of the parental genera-

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Merging

From a pattern in which Mo, FaSi, and, probably, MoSi were identified—a pattern suggesting settlement endogamy—there developed a system of bifurcate-merging which, in the light of descriptive accounts, indicates the establishment of exogamous groups which were patrilocal and patrilineal.

Cross-generation Marriage

[582]

In Diagram 3 there appears a break in the generation principle in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. The identification with Ego's mother indicates that the father (or FaBr) married his WiBrDa. This marriage practice seems to have been in competition with MoBrDa marriage (the unilateral cross-cousin type), perhaps throughout recorded Araucanian history. Female-speaking terminology supports the existence of WiBrDa marriage in that Ego, the FaSi, and the BrDa marriage are identified. There also appears to be some indication of this in the in-law terms recorded by Febrés.

Levirate and Sororate

[587]

The kinship terminology in Diagrams 1 and 2 reflects the marriage of two brothers with women from another household under patrilocal residence. The levirate appears to have become widespread only in postcontact times. There is no indication in the literature that the sororate was at all widely practiced until the moral obligations centering around the levirate became strong as a result of warfare and contingent socioeconomic instability, and it seems that sororal polygyny rather than monogamous sororal marriage was practiced.

RECENT FIELD MATERIAL

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Hallowell suggested that Araucanians now have the Omaha kinship system, and Titiev confirmed its existence in the vicinity of Cholchol. The following diagnostic traits were listed: (1) parallel-cousins classed with siblings, (2) FaSiCh classed with SiCh, (3) MoBrSo called "maternal uncle", and (4) MoBrDa called "mother."

[184]

The present writer worked briefly around Nueva Imperial, Galvarino, and just south of Angol in an attempt to determine the extent of the Omaha pattern, after failing to find it in other parts of Araucanía. It is fairly certain that the Omaha type ends, in the south, in a zone of mixture a few kilometers wide on either side of the Imperial River, at least from Boroa to Carahue.

The Galvarino data were inconclusive and the kin terms obtained from three informants near Angol did not satisfactorily cover the diagnostic areas of the system. It seems, however, that the Omaha pattern, insofar as the handling of FaSiCh is concerned, does not extend into the coastal range in the west, but only two informants from this region were questioned. East of Cholchol there seems to be another mixed zone running approximately parallel to the highway and railroad route which cuts through the Central Valley. However, there are small, scattered groups of Mapuche throughout the entire region, and more detailed field work is needed to establish reasonably certain boundaries.

Diagram 4 does not include terminology collected in this fringe zone or in the northern and western parts of the northwest sector of Araucanía, but

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262 In Alepée area, also, a pregnant woman must not eat apples, honey,
843 or chili; not at any time are she and her husband to eat the double
184 yolk of an egg, for "it will make them the parents of twins." Cañaripe informants were interested and amazed to know that Araucanians in Alepée area had the above beliefs. "We have no such beliefs here and I have no faith in them," said one. "I know, for instance, that I have eaten two yolks of one egg, and so has my husband, and we have no twins."

843 A pregnant woman must not look about too much, for she may happen to see something that will frighten her and may cause her to have an abortion or a premature delivery. An expectant mother will have a difficult delivery if she lifts the cover off a boiling kettle or places it on one. The unborn child will adhere to her uterus. She may, however, put prepared food into a kettle of boiling water and also stir boiling food. If no one else is around, she will ask even a small child to lift or replace the cover. She will also have a difficult delivery if she sits on anything made of wood, such as a bench, chair, or log—her child's head will grow out of proportion if she does. According to Cooper's sources she must not stand on the threshold of the ruka (1946, p. 732).

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, POSITION DURING DELIVERY, PROCEDURE, CELEBRATION, FUMIGATION, RECORDING THE BIRTH

844 Birth is spoken of as "to have a baby" or "to have a new baby." Both Araucanian and non-Araucanian informants were certain that the child was always born in the home ruka and not in a temporary shelter. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 732), the woman retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea when labor pains began; to give birth within the family ruka was thought to bring evil upon those who lived there.

Persons present at a birth are the woman's husband and children

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PLATE 1

Views of Araucanian country in Chile

133 241 717

1, Alepée area: Burnt-over lands, plowed field at right, ruka with adjoining fenced-in garden and nearby fenced-in potato patch, grazing land, and wheat field; Río Malleco and its valley in the distance, and the Pacific Ocean beyond. 2, Cañaripe area: Pasturelands of an Araucanian in the foreground, Catholic mission buildings in the distance, and the Andes in the background. 3, Pangipulli area, the western end of Lago Pangipulli in the Andes: Pasturelands in the foreground, Catholic mission, wheat fields on the hill at the right, and Volcano Shoshoenco in the distance. 4, Boroa area, looking north toward Río Cautín: Pasturelands, plowed hills, and river bottom.

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more recently, the powdered scrapings off the broken edge of an iron kettle are used. The ashes must be those of either huique or pelú. Those of pilfú must not be used as they are poisonous. This mixture "certainly dries up that oozing." 844

There is a belief, in all areas, that the umbilical cord should be saved, but the reasons for doing so, and for disposing of it, differ. Quoting an Alepúe mother: "I tied the cord of each of my children, when it fell off, into a little piece of cloth and put it somewhere in the ruka. The most recent ones I kept there [on a nail of a rafter in a corner of the ruka] and there [on a shelf attached to the side of the ruka]. The cord must never be thrown out of the ruka. If it is, the child will always have fear within itself, and that without reason. Without thinking of what I was doing, I threw the cord of one of my daughters out-of-doors after it had been lying on the rafters for a while. Consequently she has always had fear in herself; today, although she is 13 years old, she dislikes going out of the ruka when it is dark." A listening-in woman agreed, and added: "It causes that child to be without courage in general." Another listening-in woman had a hearty laugh when asked where the cords of her children were, and said, "I do not know where they are now; they got lost somewhere in our ruka. I kept them inside the ruka, however." 844 184 [784]

A 60-year-old Cañaripe woman had not heard of the belief of the Alepúe women. She had kept the cords of her children in the ruka because throwing them out indicates to others that the parents do not care what the child will turn out to be.

According to Panguipulli informants, the cord today is thrown into running water, such as a creek or brook. Formerly it was wrapped up in a small piece of cloth and stored under the rafters. Doing this gave the child courage, even the courage to climb tall trees. Informants had not heard of anyone burying a cord, or of undesirable consequences if it were thrown into the fire. "I certainly never heard that throwing it into the fire would make a child pulse at fires," a belief held by the Chippewa. When told of the Araucano custom of sewing the cord into a beaded bag and owning it as an adult, a woman remarked, "Why go through so much trouble and why save those things so long?"

SECUNDINES, PLACENTA, CAUL

After the child is born, the midwife or the mother's mother cleans it, swaddles it in a piece of homewoven woolen cloth, and ties it to its cradle. In the meantime mother woman, or the woman's husband, if everyone else is busy, makes the mother gag by pushing two fingers 846

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84 down her throat—this will cause her to eject the placenta. If gagging is not effective, she is made to vomit by giving her a large drink of lukewarm water mixed with salt and urine.

The secundines, including the placenta, are "companions" of the child. Immediately after delivery they are folded into the material on which the mother knelt during delivery and buried in the ruka either below the spot where the child was born or near the fireplace. This is true for all areas except Panguipulli. Usually the child's father buries them; sometimes an older sister of the child does so because the father may be busy. Several informants knew that very recently, on a few occasions, the secundines had been buried outside the ruka, "but that was taking great risks. Some harm can be expected to come to the mother; indeed, she may take very sick because of it. Or dogs may dig them up. Dogs are not allowed to eat the secundines—they are a part of man!" In Panguipulli area a boy's secundines were buried in a hole near the fireplace, but a girl's were buried out-of-doors under a chupón. It is known that dogs will not dig under a chupón because of its sharp needles.

No informant knew of an Araucanian child that had been born with a caul. "I am sure if one were so born, the midwife would tear off the skin and throw it in with the secundines. Nobody would pay any attention to it."

[illegible] OF NEWBORN BABY

On the day of birth, or the following day, the baby's eyes are treated with the sap of a plant. Quoting a Panguipulli man: "You will not find a blind Mapuche. This is because the midwife or whoever helps a woman deliver her child squeezes the sap of a plant we call llumüelka [unidentified] * into the child's eyes. It removes the mucus from the eye. Usually she does so immediately after the child is born, but it can be done with good effect the day following. It takes away that skin that is over the child's eye. I do not believe the Chileans use it; at least I have never heard them tell. And there are blind Chileans. The plant grows in damp ground."

* When translated, llumüelka means to keep from being a blind person. The writer was unable to identify the plant under that name. An Araucanian teacher in Collipulli identified a specimen the Panguipulli informant brought as korekore. Félix Jaud (1916, vol. 1, p. 93) gives the botanical classification of korekore as *Geranium core-core* Steud., fam. Geraniaceae, and the Spanish equivalent as core-core. In *La salud por medio de las plantas medicinales* (Anonymous, 1929) core-core is classified as *Geranium berteroianum*.

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are: "I do not know exactly how old I am. I lost the paper that told it." Or "I calculate I am about 60 years old. If you could see the baptismal record at the mission, you could see our ages—mine and my husbands. I had our certificates in a box in which I kept everything valuable. But someone stole the box." A Cañaripe woman answered regarding her own age, "Who knows? Who cares to know? This grandchild here is 3 years 3 months old." She had not heard of any one marking the age of a child on the horn of an animal, an Arapaho custom.

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[171]

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

Weather is either favorable or unfavorable, depending on the need at the time; either kind may therefore be rainy or sunny or dry. Rain is favorable before seeding time and occasionally during growing time, "but most certainly not during harvesting and threshing time; then dry sunny weather is favorable." Favorable weather is spoken of as küñewenuŋei (everything looks well above, or everything looks well in the sky); unfavorable weather, as makümewenuŋei.

821

The manner of forecasting weather is different for all areas, if it is attempted at all. In Alepúe area (Pacific coast), a rain can be forecast a day or two in advance when Isla Mocha in the Pacific can be clearly seen; also, when a "wall of clouds"—in appearance like a bank of fog—is seen slowly moving in over the Pacific from the western horizon; or when winds blow from the south-southwest; or when pidefi, a bird that lives in the swamps, sends out his call; or after intense heat; and when many flies are around. A red sky at the horizon on the Pacific, following a rain, "tells that the rain is over." In Panguipulli area not even the oldest informant knew how to forecast weather.

[184]

In one of the valleys in Cañaripe area (in the Andes), a clear sky after a rain forecasts fair weather for the following day; so do clouds passing northward. "But when the wind howls on the ridges of the Cordillera and in the valley up there, it usually rains down here in our valley for the next few days; the wind howled up there this morning, but not too loud. There will be no sun today, however; and it is difficult to say whether or not there will be any tomorrow." Rain can also be expected the day following a starlit night, "one in which there are many stars, so many that they seem close together." In another valley in Cañaripe area, clouds moving from the north forecast rain; from the south, sunny weather. "Usually here," said the informant, "the weather at the change of the moon continues until the next change of the moon. For example, if we have rainy weather at

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DIVORCE, SEPARATION, DESERTION, INFIDELITY

586 Formal divorce, the result of an action by somebody empowered to grant it, was not an Araucanian custom; separations and desertions were. Today the Chilean law regarding divorce is invoked only when difficulty arises regarding the care of the children, something which has happened in several instances where Araucanian men had attended schools with Chileans. In accordance with Chilean law, in these cases, sons of the couple were assigned to the care of the mother; the daughters, to the father.

Desertions by either party occur today, as they did in former times. Instances were recounted where a wife deserted because of ill treatment by her husband, or because of her affection for another man, or because she preferred being with her brothers and sisters. A man deserted because he preferred living with another woman.

Separations by agreement between husband and wife were rare. Formerly in a case of a separation, and today in a nonlegal one, the children were taken and supported by the parent who wanted them most. In a legal separation today (that is, one decided upon before a judge appointed by the Chilean Government, in most cases an Araucanian judge), the Chilean custom of assigning the girls to the father and the boys to the mother is followed, as in the case of divorce.

586 837 Today, as formerly, if infidelity on the part of the woman is suspected or known to exist, the man either sends her back to her home, or whips her. In Panguipulli area it was said that the husband was known to have cut off one of his wife's braids, something informants in other areas had not heard of. No informant had heard that her cheeks were ever slashed or the tip of her nose cut off to disfigure her face. "But an unfaithful wife was a very, very rare thing. If it happened, the man sent the woman out of his ruka and told people about it. The woman usually went to her parents' home. Her family was then obliged to return all the animals and other things, or an equal value of them, that had been paid as bride price. I do not know what happened to a man who was unfaithful, except that people scolded about it."

IN-LAW TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

606 184 In Collaripe area, mother-in-law–son-in-law and father-in-law–daughter-in-law taboos existed. A 100-year-old man had been told by old people while he was young that these customs had always existed. Alepún and Panguipulli informants, including several older than 80,

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insisted that no in-law taboos ever existed among them. "Those are not our customs; they are not now, and never were."

According to Cañaripe informants the mother-in-law and son-in-law were not allowed to speak to each other after the marriage ceremonial; neither were the father-in-law and daughter-in-law. "These could all talk to each other freely for the last time at the marriage feast." The father-in-law–daughter-in-law taboo, however, was not so severe as the mother-in-law–son-in-law taboo. "A father-in-law will speak to his daughter-in-law and she with him, but with a certain degree of reserve; I know my wife talks that way to my father. It would be difficult if they could not speak together at all, for a man takes his wife to his father's ruka and they live there until he builds his own; a man never lives in his mother-in-law's ruka." A listening-in woman interjected, "The father-in-law bought the woman for his son. He, therefore, certainly has a right to talk to her; even to command her." "Whenever I went to the ruka of my parents-in-law, my mother-in-law did not leave the ruka—after all there was no place else for her to go—but I could not talk to her. If I had anything to transact with her, I had one of her sons or her daughter do the talking. But I really *seldom have anything to talk about with my mother-in-law.*"

A 60-year-old Cañaripe area woman told of a screen of quila that a woman erected near her fireplace so as to have a place behind which to sit during her son-in-law's visits: "The mother-in-law does not look at him; she does not want to look at him; it embarrasses her to do so. She has erected for herself a row of quila stocks near the fireplace, that is, near the place where she customarily sits. Here she sits when her son-in-law visits her ruka. If other visitors come, she sits there too, but at the edge of the screen, from where she can visit." She added, with much emphasis and some anger, "It is a shocking thing to see a Chilean mother-in-law shake hands with her son-in-law. There is no respect in the world today!"

No reason for the custom of in-law taboos was known "unless it was that these persons had great respect for each other. But, in general, it has always been our custom for men to talk to men and women to women."

An occasional man or woman of the present generation pays no attention to these taboos. "There seems no sense in them," said a 50-year-old woman. "Certainly, my husband talks to my mother." She herself talked to her father-in-law in my presence.

Joking relationships were probably not institutional. Persons with whom one might joke were not necessarily persons with whom one was expected to joke. It seems more likely that certain relatives were on-

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look on, those who participate in all but the sacrifices, and those who participate in the complete ceremony." 796

Non-Araucanians are not welcome at the ceremonial, "because, so the old people say, they are of other religions; God is jealous and does not want other people there. I believe the real reason is that it is known that those who do not understand the ceremonial have made fun of it." [609]

Although features of the sacrificial ceremonial itself may differ from area to area, or may even be entirely absent in an area, in general they consist of the following: [184]

The leader, whether he be a cacique or a prophet, is the master of ceremonies. He is assisted by the captains and sergeants of all participating localities. All are men. However, informants made it a point to tell of one exception—the leader of Pucura (Collaripe area) was a very old woman who had been a prophetess since she was young, and had never been replaced. Because of her age she was assisted by a machi, also from Pucura, "But the machi only does what the old woman tells her to do; the old woman gives all the orders."

The captains and sergeants prepare the grounds for the ceremonial (*figs. 2 and 3*). *In the center of the Collaripe grounds (fig. 2)* four cultidre are placed in the ground; in Alepún, one *pangui* tree. This place is called *purrún* (referring to the dances). The leader will sit near here. Between him and the cultidre, the *trutrukas* brought by the families are arranged in a row of piles. "At our last gillatun the piles were so high [1½ feet]." Behind the *trutrukas* a row of containers, each filled with *muday*, is placed. "The containers are carved out of wood and are shaped like the *chalwa* used at Mass. We had one at home, but I cannot find it; I wanted to show it to you." On the opposite side of the *cultidre* are dishes containing wheat.

On the periphery of the grounds, two pairs of posts are set into the ground to be used by two men on horseback, each with a *trutruka* (*see pl. 32, 1*). "Each man with a *trutruka* made two posts: a crutched one in which he rests his *trutruka* and another to which he ties the horse on which he sits while he holds the *trutruka*. These two men remain in this position all through the ceremonial; they are like guards of the place. Pucura had one *trutruka* in December, and Llanquihue had the other."

A pole, generally a sapling, is planted in a place somewhat apart from the *purrún*. Here the machi will sit, each with his or her *kultrung* (*pl. 30, 1*). "Sometimes there are as many as four machi." Formerly each machi had a pole. During the ceremonial each machi beats his or her *kultrung*, and together they sing (*Informant sang in Araun-*

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764 too, was completely wrapped in a home-woven blanket and bound about with a tentlwe. About his head, too, were eatables and clothing. Persons, as they arrived to attend the wake, were offered food." Seen lying alongside a body in Pangaipulli, were a knife, tortillas, toasted wheat, and a pair of new shoes.

At present a wake is generally of two nights' duration; if longer, it is because of a delay in obtaining a burial permit. The permit is granted according to Chilean law by a Chilean officer when the death is recorded. During the wake several persons—relatives or neighbors—are always in the presence of the corpse. The Chilean custom of burning candles continuously about the body, from death to burial, is followed at all wakes; so is that of placing flowers near the body—fresh ones, if they are in season; otherwise, those made of paper. At intervals, alternately, Christian prayers are said in Spanish and traditional Araucanian ones in Araucanian. At intervals, too, food is eaten while sitting about the corpse. In Alepún area tortilla or bread and yerba maté are brought from home and eaten with meat supplied by the deceased person's family; in Collaripe area, all food is supplied by the family of the deceased. The closest women relatives of the deceased refrain from cooking during a wake.

[91] Immediately after the death of a man, his horse was saddled and tied to a [illegible] in line with the entrance. In some instances this is done today. Right evening the horse is unsaddled and allowed to roam, to be resaddled and tied to the post again in the morning. On the day of burial the horse is shot and parts of it are buried with the man—a procedure described below (p. 284).

Burials today are in cemeteries. According to informants, burials have always been in cemeteries—the one in use today in Pangaipulli had been an Araucanian cemetery many years previous to the arrival (1898) of the early missionaries in the area. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 735) each family or lineage group had its own burial ground in a grove or on a hill, not far from the dwellings.

Coffins, in Collaripe area today, and, in many instances in Alepún and Pangaipulli areas, also, are two halves of a horse-unit log, each shaped like a dug-out canoe. Such a coffin is called *trokiñ*. "The hollow in each half had to take care of half the body." Bodies not buried in *trokiñ* are buried in boxes made of planks. Planks are carried to the grave on the shoulders of men, at the time the body is taken there for interment, and nailed together at the grave. Children, including babies, are buried like adults—"It is a touching thing to see the body of a baby taken off its cradle and laid into a *trokiñ*."

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101 The Argentine Araucanians at present speak of themselves variously as mananeros (people who live where apples grow), and/or as paisanos (indigenous people) from a specific area, such as Pilpil or Trumpul, or as people belonging to the jurisdiction of a cacique. All non-Araucanians are called huinka (non-Araucanian or Christian). Quoting Kolupan, "When we say we are mananeros and you are huinka, it is the same as saying people are French or German or Swiss or English" (people who lived in the area and were known to him).

177 The Argentine Araucanians are decidedly more acculturated than are the Chilean Araucanians. The impact of Argentine Government ● 184 regulations and impositions and the immediate contact with Argentine ways of living have resulted in changes similar to those inflicted on the American Indian through subjugation by the American Government and the Indians' contact with Whites within our own recent history.

[161] The largest number of Araucanians in Argentina—approximately 3,500 persons—live in territory Neuquén, the total population of which is 84,378, according to the Argentine census of 1947.

Culturally the Argentine Araucanians, in pre-Spanish days, were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and to a small degree were interested in horticulture and agriculture, [147] which economic life has persisted until the present time. Linguistically they belong to the Araucanian family, along with the Chilean Araucanians.

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

812 No informant knew the Araucanian words for sterility, fertility, or contraceptive devices. None could give any reason for sterility, and no way of producing fertility was known. Nor were contraceptive devices known. "We hear about them today. Those who have five or six children want to go to Argentine doctors to get something so they will have no more; they say these doctors know about this. I am certain that no Araucanian could give them information on it. The Araucanians wanted children; they considered many children a blessing." Ill health on the part of the woman was given as the only reason for not having many children. "My daughter had one child and regretted she had no more; but she was never well after that first child was born."

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FONTANELLA, HEAD SHAPING, BEAUTIFYING THE FACE

856 827 The closing of the fontanels is considered a normal development, but it was noted that those of a healthy child close earlier than do those of a sickly one. They are expected to have closed by the time the child begins to walk. The mother takes notice whether the fontanels are closing, but no one looks upon it as an event worth celebrating.

384 My informants knew of no custom of skull formation; the face, however, was molded, at times. Araucanians were not able to identify adults' skulls (flattened in the inion region and in the temporal regions, back of the ears) in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín, which were found in interments in the Araucanian country. A 70-year-old man examined the skulls and remarked, "If our people ever did anything to flatten the head, I never heard them tell about it. Nor did we ever tie boards to the baby's face, as you say some Mapuche in Chile do."

[89] In all probability, however, it was institutional to mold the child's face so that the nose conformed to one recognized as an Araucanian nose, and one that was thought to beautify the face. Such a nose, not unlike a Roman nose with its tip dipping downward, was seen on many older men and women. (Pl. 6b.) Since younger persons seldom possessed such a nose, one is led to believe the custom no longer prevails. A 60-year-old woman was not interested in the custom. Her father had told her that formerly every child's nose was stroked so as to bring the nose forward and that its chin and cheeks were formed also. "But I do not believe in it. The way one is born, that is the way one is expected to be." According to a man in his seventies, only an ominous child had its face molded: "If one of our children has a face so fat that its nose does not show up very well, its mother will stroke its cheeks backward like this [stroking with palms of both hands, simultaneously, toward ears]. We do not want our people to have ugly faces. I am glad to hear that some of those Mapuche in Chile are doing something to the faces of their children to do away with those flattened noses that some of them have when they grow up. Some have ugly faces. We call such faces chay dayñe [flattened];[6] the Argentines call them chatos."

[6] All Araucanian words were checked against Félix José de Augusta's Diccionario (1916), if found there. Before using the Diccionario for the pronunciation of words, the reader is advised to consult Appendix A, Phonetic key to the Araucanian language.

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MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

Time of day today is generally told as formerly: On sunny days, in the open, it is reckoned quite accurately by the position of the sun; not so accurately by the length of shadows cast by stationary objects, such as houses or trees. "If shadows are short, it must be nearly midday." Indoors, time is told by the location of sunrays as they shine through crevices and fall upon designated fixed places, such as a stone at the fireplace or the foot of a sapling in the framework of the house. Allowance was made for the shifting of the sunbeams as the seasons progressed, "but the sunrays are always either on the rock or to the right or the left of it." A 59-year-old woman knew where sunbeams could be expected to be when the time of day was halfway between sunrise and noon, at noon, and halfway between noon and sunset.

Kolupan noted that the only time of day that can be accurately told is midday, since the sun is then at zenith. He then said that an Austrian Tyrolese had taught him to tell time by noticing the location of the shadow of his long finger in the palm of his hand when he folded the finger across the palm. "If the shadow of my finger falls directly below the finger, it is midday; if the end of the shadow falls on this crease in my palm, it is between 5 and 6 o'clock in the evening. This is not an old Araucanian custom."

When there is no sun, time is merely guessed at. A 70-year-old woman hurried her four grandsons off to school, during an interview on a rainy day, when she learned it was 11 a.m.; they had been sitting by, listening in. "When the sun does not shine, we do not know the time of day," commented the grandmother. "On such days our children are sometimes late for school and sometimes too early." Time for meals was told by hunger.

Kolupan and a man in his seventies named the parts of the day, but they agreed on one word only, namely, that for midday; both called it *rayi antü*. Kolupan divided the day as shown in table 8. The man in his seventies divided the day into *ule* (morning), *rayi antü* (midday), *rupa antü* (sun is passing), and *epe lonu antü* (evening). Both agreed that the time of night (*dolpun*) is told by the position of two constellations, the gamuza (*Yuan*) and the rhea (*choike*). (See table 8 for Chilean Araucanian names of divisions of the day.)

Days were not named; nor were they grouped into weeks. If anyone had to be kept of days, a knot was tied into a thong or string "each day when we got up in the morning." A period of several weeks thus was reckoned by the moon. A worker, for example, who hired out at harvest time took notice of the days of the moon on the day

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to forty white beans, about the length of the first joint of the thumb from tip to knuckle, are split into halves and the flat side of each half blackened. A throw is spread on the ground, and players squat about it. An informant demonstrated the playing of the game. In the absence of beans, he took buttons from a sewing basket nearby, shook them loosely in his closed hand with fingers downward, saying, "Mariche, mariche, mariche" (10 persons, 10 persons, 10 persons).—He might have said, "Mari kuche, mari kuche, mari kuche" (20, 20, 20), or "Wewun, wewun, wewun" (I shall win, I shall win, I shall win), or a similar repetition of words.—Without warning he threw the buttons, with some force, upon the throw. The player wins and is awarded the stake when either all the blackened sides or all the white sides of the beans turn up simultaneously. Each player takes his turn. Large stakes formerly included several horses, silver parts of harnesses, and clothing. Today large stakes—rarely played for, however—are a horse, a pig, a sheep, a goat, several chickens, and, on rare occasions, a bridle, or a piece of homespun clothing such as a poncho. Usually today stakes are a bottle of wine, a package of yerba maté or something similar in value bought at a store. Formerly boys staked tops that were spun by hand, which were more highly prized than those spun by means of a cord.

A hockey game known as chueca (palin) is played today when a goodly number of people from different settlers come together. Opposing teams of six or seven men play. Each player deals a common ball a blow with his hockey stick to get the ball either into the goal of his side or to keep it from the goal of the opposite side. Ground reserved for playing chueca is called kiñke in all areas except Malleo, where it is called palitun.

TOYS, CREATIVE PLAY, ETC.

No informant had had a real doll or even a semblance of one carved of wood or made of grass or rags. Play objects, when old informants were children, generally were things found about the place, such as sticks, stones, or insects, or those that children could make, like tops or miniature pieces of pottery "like my mother made."

Children, today, too, have few toys, if any. "When my children were babies I gave them a spoon to play with. When they were older they played around outside and amused themselves with whatever they found." A 50-year-old father, however, believed that children should have toys, and therefore he made a 2-wheeled toy (pl. 62, *1*) for his 4-year-old son, and also modified all a cow's knuckle for the boy for

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new and involved skirmishing and preparation for battle. Today, women cultivate gardens and men do field work. The transition to this situation seems to have been entirely dependent upon the cessation of hostilities and accommodation to reservation living.

Present-day Mapuche agricultural technology varies from the highly conservative hoe-and-dibble cultivation of vegetable gardens and small fields to the fullest utilization of modern farm machinery, and from complete lack of soil conservation to adequate rotation of crops, fields, and the application of fertilizer. Between these extremes are a number of agricultural techniques which, taken as a whole, characterize Mapuche farming operations.

In general, a steel plow is used in the preparation of fields, and ox traction prevails almost to the exclusion of horses. Wooden plows (*astas de cubo*) are occasionally employed, principally along the coast, if the ground is especially full of roots and it is feared that the steel plow may be blunted or its tip broken. If the wooden plow breaks, it can be replaced or repaired fairly easily. The cost of repairing or replacing a steel plow is prohibitive, and breaking the steel point is considered a very great misfortune. The single-share plow is one of the most expensive pieces of equipment owned by the Mapuche.

Oxen are said to be preferred to horses for plowing, and the technique of handling plow horses is not generally known. This also holds for Chilean farmers in the region. It is further maintained that oxen provide more traction than horses and greater durability. It is certain that they require less expensive fodder and less care.

Working about eight hours a day with a single team of oxen and a steel plow, a man needs about three days to plow two hectares of land, which is perhaps all or at least half of the field acreage used by many Mapuche in any one year. Fields often receive a second plowing, rarely a third. If a second plowing is made, the pattern is to make furrows which crosscut each other. This is primarily to break up the clods, rather than to hold rain water. A third plowing is usually diagonal to the first two.

If the second or third plowing takes place in the planting season, the seeds may simply be broadcast before the final plowing, provided the *barbecho* has not been prepared too long in advance and the land has remained fairly soft. Otherwise, the field will be plowed prior to broadcasting the seeds and then harrowed just after the sowing. The triangular-type harrow is the most common one in general use, having either wooden or iron-spike teeth. A heavy log roller (*rodón*) may be

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Two: DIMENSIONS OF THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD

THIS chapter attempts to place in significant order concepts about the most sacred supernatural forces and beings operative in Mapucheland. It is concerned with the ideational aspects of Mapuche religion. Mapuche are socialized in these beliefs—so successfully that Christianity does not appear even as a significant veneer over traditional belief.

Mapuche religious lore consists of a body of beliefs to which an estimated 250,000 people subscribe with a great amount of agreement. The concepts and ceremonies concerning the pantheon of gods, afterlife, malevolent forces, although exhibiting significant regional variation in certain details, present a fairly consistent picture throughout Mapucheland. Among the Mapuche, generally, it may be said that most persons who participate regularly in ceremonial activities have quite similar notions about religion and ritual performance. Similarity of belief and action, therefore, has a certain regional expression, and the region defined by the anthropologist and the Mapuche themselves is greater or smaller depending on the level of generalization on which beliefs and actions are analyzed.

While there is marked cultural uniformity throughout Mapucheland, there is significant regional variation in emphasis placed on the propitiation of sets of gods and deified ancestral spirits. Mapuche deities are anthropomorphic and anthroposocial, some of them differing from one lineage group to the next. This is difference of a social nature, within a framework of great cultural homogeneity. Its significance may be understood best by maintaining as separate analytical tools the concepts of culture and society, the failure to do so having resulted in a number of unfortunate interpretations of Mapuche religion to date.

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out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machí*.

In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *nguillatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower echelons, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contemporary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

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whatever manipulations have taken place with respect to genealogies. The range of kinship ties between living Mapuche and the mythical, regional ancestors, however, is more diffuse, broader, and includes a large number of descent groups. These larger units I call "ritual congregations." They are not clans, in any accepted sense. It is simply that in moving outward from the clearly definable patrilineal descent group to the ritual congregation we find a connection with other deities of a more general importance to the local population, a connection of nonspecific, ethnic importance, rather than one of a narrow genetic nature. While these deities may be known to all Mapuche, regardless of region, they are deemed of especially close relationship by Mapuche of a particular region. They may be shared by people of more than one ritual group, or congregation, as for example are the god and goddess of the south wind along much of the Pacific coast. But among one congregational unit such deities are taken as generalized ancestors, and among others they are merely part of the pantheon, with no special concern for the living, and to whom the living do not express any especial need to fabricate connecting links. In this latter sense, they are generalized forces, rather than genetic personifications of power.

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The local, mythical ancestral gods, therefore, are bound by tenuous ties of kinship to regional blocks of Mapuche. Descent is employed as a concept of ethnic solidarity, rather than in an exact genetic sense. These bonds are stretched to a point in time during which the Mapuche and Mapucheland were created, or to a time in the remote past subsequent to the initial struggle between the forces of good and evil (Tren Tren and Kai Kai), in which mankind (Mapuche) emerged in control of the world. Today, large congregations recognize the same generalized, mythical ancestors in the absence of any recognized bonds of kinship, although some of the units of the congregation are directly linked through bonds of marriage in the matrilateral system. Relationships are couched in terms of descent, but they are based on locality and, to a large measure, on the web of marital ties. Exactly which of the local deities are propitiated at any *nillatun* ceremony is a matter of regional identification, a feature which helps define the extension of the regional congregation.

There is regional overlapping in the propitiation of these

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mythical ancestral deities, which appears to have considerable analytic significance. An example will serve to indicate something of this. The god of thunder, usually called *pillan*, sometimes *tukulfuche*, is supplicated in and near the Andes as an ancestral deity by a number of congregations. There he takes on the characteristics of a regional deity. The god of thunder, under the same or other names, is known but neither similarly conceived nor propitiated by the coastal populations. The god of the south wind is everywhere important along the coast, is taken as a mythical ancestor by some of the central coastal groups but, although known as a deity by the Andean congregations, does not receive pan-Mapuche veneration. In the mountains, one learns that the god of the south wind is a specifically coastal god. There are even finer distinctions between regional affiliations to minor and mythical ancestral deities, with noticeable overlapping among geographically proximate units of the population.

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Part of this local overlapping, which sometimes gives the impression of confusion, is, I believe, a result of a gradation between authentic and mythical ancestral spirits, something which possibly has been expressed in innumerable shiftings of loyalty during the long-extended Mapuche history. The relative importance of any deity or set of gods changes over time. The most obvious and most easily traced changes take place with respect to the lower gods. Full deification, for example, and later regional generalization, comes about as a result of first, genealogical manipulation and second, inadequate (oral) recording of relationships. I will return to this matter in a later chapter. Here, though, I might add that a congregation propitiates these half-forgotten ancestors outside the regular framework of lineal descent, and that this is not fully recognized by the Mapuche. It is usually said that such-and-such an ancestor-god lived in the area long ago, in the time of the Spanish wars, when Mapuche lived to be several hundred years of age. An attempt is made to place the mundane existence of these ancestor-gods at a time of the re-creation myth (see p. 75).

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The process leading to ancestral deification emerges when dealing with the upper generations of lineage organization, and only there. Apart from this, there is no confusion in establishing

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continuity between the living and the dead, their authentic ancestors. This is true even though, as mentioned before, there is ample evidence that genealogical manipulation is an ongoing process and that, in general, the number of generations between supposedly historical events and the present have been compressed to serve the needs of local groups. Authentic ancestors are always mentioned by name or by designations such as grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on, and continuity of generations, even though of questionable genealogical accuracy, is always expressed in the comparatively exact idiom of kinship. This is taken as fact by the Mapuche. In contrast, themselves and, to a certain extent, the minor deities are figuratively classed as "fathers," a flexibility which makes for much greater inclusiveness with respect to the composition of any congregational unit, in contrast to specific ancestral kin-groups.

As a group, authentic ancestors are supplicated as *kuifiche* or *kuifipalin*. It is clear from context that these words connote "our direct lineal ancestors." These spirits are propitiated in the great *difafun* rite, mainly as intercessors before *Ngenechen* and before whatever other minor deities are of importance for the local congregation on any specific ritual occasion; but they are not the center of attention. In the *difafun* ceremony, it is the generalized ancestors, the local regional gods, and the creator, *Ngenechen*, which command the people's attention. Authentic ancestors were smaller groups of greater homogeneity and are most intimately involved in funeral ceremonies and in the continual tug of war between shamans and sorcerers. This seems to indicate that although all ritual action rests on the firm belief in the connection between the living and their own ancestors, the Mapuche recognize that regional congregational ceremonies and funerals are of a different order; that while the same persons, or segments of the regularly participating group, tend to interact on all ritual occasions, the organization is differently conceived for *difafun* and for *ruca*. An examination of the social action involved in these ceremonies, in relation to their symbolic correlates, takes us to the very heart of the Mapuche system of religious morality. But that is a task for subsequent chapters.

Shades of the *ruca* are believed to specific territorial kingroups.

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shamanism, drawing Mapuche together in the context of kinship.

The two versions of the Treu Treu and Kai Kai myth which follow indicate the specifics of local modification, especially when compared to accounts found in other ethnographies. The first version is a Central Valley modification, one of several.

Treu Treu is a large mountain in a range which runs between Cabrarino and Temuco. Kai Kai was a huge serpent with three arms, which were trees, and a tail that was rooted in the ground. There is a lake high up on Treu Treu, which was the house of Kai Kai. Kai Kai had the head of a huge ox. When its eyes were open, it was asleep; and when its eyes were shut, it was awake. People used to come every once in a while to hit Kai Kai's tail with sticks. Kai Kai would awaken, and its eyes would close. Kai Kai was the chief of all the animals. Then, one day, the people molested Kai Kai too much, and Kai Kai led all the animals away. Kai Kai led them into the air. They did not fly away, but just walked into the air. No one knows where they went, but they are the spirit protectors [pillan] of all living animals.

The second version, from the Toltén region along the coast, is as follows:

Treu Treu was a hill and also a good spirit which helped people. Kai Kai was a sea bird, an evil spirit, who used to enjoy harming people. This is how Treu Treu saved the Mapuche and vanquished evil. One day Kai Kai decided to wipe out all the Mapuche, and caused the sea to rise until the land was flooded. Many people managed to climb Treu Treu with their animals, and the wild animals followed. When Kai Kai said "kai, kai, kai, kai," the sea rose until it nearly covered the top of Treu Treu and threatened all the people and animals thereon. Upon seeing this, Treu Treu rose still higher. This continued until Treu Treu reached its present height and all the sea water was used up. Kai Kai was beaten. Thus, all the people and animals that had climbed Treu Treu were safe. This shows how powerful Treu Treu was. He conquered Kai Kai and saved the people.

539 In the first version, as in several others, there is no obvious connection made of a relationship between the contemporary Mapuche and Treu Treu. Nor is Treu Treu a force either of

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good or evil, but is neutral, being merely the setting for the action between humans and Kai Kai. Kai Kai is, at most, lord of the animals, and not an evil character by any means. But Kai Kai does seem to punish people and, this myth, taken along with others from the same region, suggests an internal evidence that Kai Kai is attributed characteristics opposed to the best interests of mankind. Tren Tren, however, is not depicted as the savior of mankind or as the founder of the contemporary Mapuche. The second version, however, portrays both figures as symbolic of good and evil in the Mapuche universe. We see Tren Tren as a generalized ancestor, a god-figure. The story ends in the vanquishment of evil and the inheritance of Mapucheland by the forebears of its present indigenous occupants.

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The following myth, again one of a type, is one which relates even more specifically the contemporary Mapuche of the locality to a generalized ancestor-god. This myth also accounts for the origin of the *nillatun* ceremony, for which there are various origin myths in other regions. It is also representative of the conquest of good over evil, and the redemption of the now godlike figures involved, as well as their descendants. The Toltén version is the story of Tranalcufu and Winkalcufu (in the period the myth originated *winka* meant plunderer or raider). It is presented in greatly abbreviated form from the way it is usually told (accounts which I heard lasted as long as one and a half hours).

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There were two men from this part [around Toltén] who set out one day to cross the wide part of the river. The current carried them out to sea, and they turned over and drowned. There were many mourners, the relatives of these men, who felt great remorse at their untimely death. These men were well liked, and were leaders [*lonko*] of their people.

In Quilliche [between Villarrica and the modern town of Loncoche] there lived a powerful *kalku*, who sent a message to the mourners. The message said that the *kalku* would promise, upon one condition, to return the two men to their families, to return them unharmed. The condition was this: the mourners had to come to the house of the *kalku* within four days after receiving the message. Because of the great distance and the lack of roads, the mourners were unable to arrive before the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Those accompanying the coffin make additional libations of wine at the grave, drinking a good deal more themselves. The scene at the grave is characteristically maudlin.

Two or more of the men remain to fill in the hole with dirt. The rest return to the house of the deceased, where family and friends continue to console one another and speak the praises of the dead, meanwhile finishing the remaining food and drink. The formal ceremony concludes with interment and final salutes to the dead. Ashes are sometimes scattered between the cemetery and the deceased's house. They impede the spirit from returning to the precincts of the living, provided all other aspects of the ceremony have been executed satisfactorily. And if this is done, the three principal objectives of *ewu* are achieved: the remains of the dead are interred, his spirit is assured its proper place in the afterworld, and the living have discharged their obligation of mourning, which properly initiates their lifelong responsibility of spirit propitiation.

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Burial ceremonies vary not so much with region as with the status of the dead person and his relatives. Age, sex, wealth, and rank are the main determinants for variations in *ewu* celebrations. Adults receive more or less the same ceremonial treatment as that described above, but chiefs and shamans are accorded more pomp. Children's funerals are generally much simpler affairs than those of adults, are attended by fewer mourners, and are brought to completion in a shorter time. It is felt that the loss to their lineage and community is not as great as the loss of a married adult member of the group, since they were not full-fledged members of the society. Infants, unless they die at the same time as their mother, are rarely interred in the communal cemetery, but are buried in the old family plot or somewhere else near the house, and with little ceremony. It is generally said that this at least partly prevents them from being captured by *kalku* and converted into *anchimallen*, a fate which the Mapuche seem to feel is more easily accomplished when infants are buried at some distance from the house in the cemetery.

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The funeral of a chief or shaman is more ostentatious and the assemblage much larger than those of ordinary Mapuche. In number of participants, the ceremony takes on the proportions

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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of the Mapuche. What appears today is a composite whole having some regional variation in trait content. Titiev sums up his impression of the ceremony in the following words:

> Woven together into the great composite of *küllatun* rites are elements of machi lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress (1951:118).

While this seems to me to be an empirically valid observation, I fear it might leave the reader with the impression that the ceremony is little more than a hodgepodge of assorted beliefs and practices having no more than a vaguely functional relationship in that they are "woven together" and "mingled" in a way which is somewhat propitiatory, adulatory, or supplicatory.

In the following pages is a generalized account of *küllatun* ceremonies as I observed them on five widely separated sets of reservations in Mapucheland. Some regional variations were partly due to the fact that today's ceremonies are an ensemble of the sort mentioned by Titiev. Once this is recognized, however, and we look below the surface phenomena, many such differences appear to have little or no social significance. Of great structural significance is the fact that variation is partly accounted for by different local groups propitiating different regional deities and their own ancestors.

A General Description of Küllatun. *Küllatun* ceremonies are not held according to an exact calendrical schedule, although nowadays they take place with regularity in the spring or after the fall harvest. In the past, according to historical documents and verbal accounts, they were sometimes held for other than agricultural fertility purposes. The principal nonagricultural motives seem to have been to ask ancestors and various of the minor gods for success in war and deliverance from plagues and general disaster. Today, concern is mainly with agricultural fertility and the general well-being of the congregation. Clearly a major aspect of *küllatun* is the offering of food to ancestors, the pantheon, and to ancestral spirits. Although there are not fast food ceremonies, since they take place prior to the ripening

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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to cook, and await the beginning of the ritual. Nearly all the people arrive by noon, although there are some stragglers. The assemblage on the first day of the ceremony is generally much smaller than that on the second day. The first day is considered expressly sacred, and much time is given to the propitiation of ancestors of the host group and, in turn, those of the participating reservations which traditionally comprise the ritual congregation. Things change somewhat on the second (or third) day of the ceremony, and many profane activities are introduced. People tend to mix more freely on the second day, and there is usually a good deal of wine-drinking (although this is proscribed in certain parts of Mapucheland). On the second day, the spectators may outnumber the participants, and the total assemblage might easily reach several thousand people. The organization of the ceremony is deeply appreciated by the elders.

As the various family groups of participants arrive, they take up positions sufficiently distant from the center of the field of ceremonial activity. If comrades have been set up to receive everyone, their positions are predetermined. The officials (hereafter guardians of one sort or another) of the ceremony are responsible for the ordering of the crowd and do not hesitate to ask family groups to move to more suitable places crowding the ceremonial field. There is a good deal of milling about among the assemblage before the ceremony starts, as people compete to obtain positions of vantage from which to view the activities. At the first sign of ritual activity, however, the entire audience flees to attention on the move and settles down to watch the proceedings.

Ideally, the ritual is divided into four parts, each largely a repetition of the other. If there is a full performance, the ritual falls into four sections: early morning, mid-morning, early afternoon, late afternoon. There are no ceremonial rites, although there is a good deal of visiting among the participants and guests, should they remain the night on the ceremonial field.

Whether there are four, three, or only two ritual periods, each closely duplicates the main features of the others. There is always the repetition, even though there should be only a morning and an afternoon session. The ritual of the second

12: Faron E-6, 9 (1952-1954) 1964
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Four: THE RITUAL CONGREGATION: LINEAGE AND LOCALITY

This chapter offers a description and an analysis of the relationships existing between *ruca* and *lafkatun* with regard to the structure and composition of Mapuche groups which regularly participate in the *nguillatun* seasonal fertility rites and the occasional funeral ceremonies. These memberships comprise a ritual congregation through which they participate in the largest public ritual in Mapuchedom, rituals of importance to the cohesion of small blocks of reservations, as well as to that of total Mapuche society. The main concern for the moment is with both the patrilineal and the local or regional (geographical) features of the ritual congregation—that is, relationships among lineages localized on particular reservations as these group into neighborhoods of ritual congregations.

The structure of Mapuche society would appear to lend support to the Durkheimian thesis that public ritual practices and shared religious beliefs crystallize the community and contribute to social integration. In order to test Durkheim's hypothesis on the Mapuche, however, it is necessary to discover and describe the components of the ritual community, show why they are as they are, and discuss how they are related and how they are formed. Furthermore, it is necessary to show in detail how Mapuche ritual expression and morality comprise a single conceptual system governing social action. In doing this, the supernatural content of Mapuche morality becomes the emphasis.

I believe it is significant to mention that Mapuche religious ritual may be characterized on one hand as an essentially uniform system of belief and action, taking into consideration local variations which appear as exceptions. On the other hand, and mainly from a sociological point of view, local variations are not variations at all, if by this is meant some departure from standard or normative procedure or belief.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
771 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
796 that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
• 184 connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
794 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any social analysis the necessity of making vague and unsubstantiated references to regional differences in either cultural or social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *ñillatun* and *awn* rites have
796 been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
729 culture traits, each being the culmination of cultural analysis.
782 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *awn* and *ñillatun*, regardless of differences. An important though by no means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the two rituals. *Awn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *ñillatun* is at least partly geared to keeping them there. And *ñillatun* is a fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors for the welfare of the living. *Awn* is more immediately concerned with authentic ancestors, *ñillatun* more with mythical, regional deities, and fewachen. But the two ceremonies are more than merely complementary, they are duplicatory rites based on a common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distinguishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinction is generally verbalized, both *awn* and *ñillatun* embody a common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral spirits and fewachen, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the dispersion of evil spirits from the ceremonial field. Furthermore, [794] although there are structural and compositional differences adhering in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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significantly high correlation among the eighteen conversions indicated in Diagram II. These not directly tied together by marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather than peculiar to the Tolten region.

The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the constituent conversions is understandable on two counts. In the first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change, former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching marriage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance than the second point. The second point involves a consideration of the relationship between affinity and sorcery, or the moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron 1961c: 1961) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matrilateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and, as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that its conceptualization tells about the interaction of systems of marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be viewed as having its source outside some unit of local or regional entity.

In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence to actual relationships than might be expected in a model representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congregation. This latter point is most important for the conceptualization of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of marriage and neighborhood.

[Errata: see category 136, p. 111, for corrections -- Analyst]

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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women sometimes) are accused of having been cleared from their natal communities for practicing witchcraft. People speak of them in whispers as "once having been a witch," the implication being that no action will be taken against them as long as they do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be ambitious, underlying their search for some kind, and attempt to make the most of overdosed misfortune—an enviable condition in most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members of their adoptive community. Among males, those in-married men are most suspect of themselves engaging in witchcraft, or in being the survivors of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

The Sorcerers

Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:730), again following Métraux, wrote, "there were no shamans societies," and by his choice on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring shamans were usually instructed by practicing shamans and were initiated "into the profession" according to solemn ritual, which included animal sacrifice, feasting, and a symbolic expression of unity, at least between employer and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a life and blood reality, with its organizational equipment. That of the witches is real in the sense of its existence in people's thoughts and its effect of social action, and it seems to complement that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the dualism at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

Kallfu are believed to gather in nelu, where they conduct their evil machinations to subterranean accompaniment. They fly by night to their rendezvous, frequently on shamans, when the occasion demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature of the witching profession, refers to them meetings as "witches' festivities," which I think is a fair figure of speech, even though he might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition of witches' groups is somewhat differently conceptualized in

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different regions, variations even occurring from one community to the next with regard to minor details. It is often said that all witches of a region form either two, again, that "all kelles are enemies to their ruka." Sometimes, therefore, only one large ruka is mentioned and all witches believed to belong to a non-differentiated group. Other times, many ruka are said to exist, and witches are grouped into vague regional memberships.

Without attempting to explain these variations in detail, it might be said that witches are given corporate unity in the folklore which has developed around them. Kelles derive strength through their association. Since they "never die," they comprise an entity which has inherent social continuity. They are found as a group in league with the totality of supernatural forces of evil, for which they recruit new members. They are the living organization, the embodiment of this evil force in the universe. Their endeavor is secret and its accidental or purposeful discovery means either death to the unfortunate person at the hands of the body of kelles, or his incorporation into the group. Evil is not only cumulative but collective.

While kelles may be said to work magic against other predestined witches, this occurs only in exceptional cases, and is accomplished by saying that the witches so involved belong to different associations defined on the vague regional terms alluded to above—that is, to different groups between which a certain amount of antagonism or conflict of interest is attributed. This might account for the muddled opinion about whether witches should be considered a single evil entity or as an internally differentiated group. In any case, the usual opposition is between world and kelles, between good and evil, and here the point of view individuality is played down and group membership emphasized.

As distinguished from kelles, shamans form actual groups of living people, associated with the forces of good through their pillan. They congregate for the purpose of delivering or exhorting the sacred symbol (the rewe) of their profession. One of their membership withdraws momentarily before her peers for individual status—and the same rewe group of shamans regularly re-unite for such occasions. They also assemble to initiate a novice into the priesthood, and to test her powers in group

M. Fortes E-4,9 (1950-1954) 1954
SCA Arrangement SCA
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undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody goes to town when initiation or even sun bird within congregational boundaries.

This, again, is admittedly a gross summary, but it serves sufficient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society. But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle psychological currents which might occur in an individual on such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapanche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapanche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapanche heart, and, therefore, whether a number of similar offensive acts represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the Mapanche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons. Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the elders of the ritual group. This judgment is made with respect to younger Mapanche, especially the men, almost whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation were in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to have another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapanche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapanche are expected to allow the senior ritual responsibilities to rest with the officials and/or the elders. That is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-six, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one assumes that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsibility. Therefore "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in any case does not imply change, breakdown, or breakdown. Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and dominant motifs of Mapanche culture and society. To under-

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ritual Mapuche responses to ritual—sociologically or psychologically examined—one must understand the ancestor-based structure of morality. Without the overall view that system analysis affords, it is easy to misinterpret a traditional, age-based role of marginal or limited participation in ritual activities as one of "growing indifference." And in line with this, to deny the systematic perpetuation of ancestral spirits, as Titiev does, would seem to indicate a grave misunderstanding of Mapuche society and culture, in transition or otherwise.

Let us take another turn in approaching the matter of constancy and change. Given the agricultural technology of the Mapuche, they are faced with a problem of overpopulation. One accommodation to this problem is the removal of excess population by the annual migration of substantial (unrecorded) numbers of young people to the cities and towns and farms of Chile and Argentina. Most of these migrants never resettle on the reservations from which they come. What about them? How might the existence of this diaspora influence the judgment of the anthropologist? Titiev touches on this matter in terms of cultural values, but his remarks seem directed especially to those Mapuche remaining on the reservations. He writes:

> Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. . . . At present the old incentives and rewards [warfare honors, polygynous status, and other phenomena associated with pre-reservation days] for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouse little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans (1951:144).

Leaving aside the judgments about psychological orientations in the opening sentence, which almost defy verification, much of this observation would seem applicable to the Mapuche individuals who have already left the reservations. No longer part of reservation life, they are nevertheless not readily accepted into Chilean society, except on a level of employment and social status which is general considerations. They are in something of